

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 TRSE-00 IO-13 /069 W
-----131558Z 102675 /47

P R 131458Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6151
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS:PINT, IS
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH DMC LEADER AND SHELLI ACTIVIST

1. POLITICAL OFFICER MET WITH SHMUEL TOLEDANO, FORMER
ADVISOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR ARAB AFFAIRS, AND DAN
JACOBSON, PROFESSOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AT TEL
AVIV UNIVERSITY. TOLEDANO RESIGNED HIS POST AND QUIT
THE LABOR PARTY IN JANUARY TO JOIN THE DMC. HE IS
NUMBER SEVEN ON ITS LIST. JACOBSON IS AN ACTIVIST
IN SHELLI, THE LEFTIST PEACE BLOC THAT WAS ORGANIZED
IN MARCH.

2. TOLEDANO CONFIRMED THE WIDESPREAD IMPRESSION THAT
THE DMC HAD RECENTLY BEGUN PICKING UP STEAM. HE
ESTIMATED IT WOULD WIN 12-15 SEATA --" POSSIBLY MORE."
IN ADDITION TO THE FACTORS ADVERSELY AFFECTING THE
DMC'S FORTUNES THAT WE HAVE HEARD FROM OTHERS (LACK
OF "ORIENTALS" ON ITS LIST, CHARGES AGAINST
YADIN), TELEDANO MENTIONED THE IMPRESSION
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THAT SHMUEL TAMIR HAD TAKEN OVER THE PARTY.
HE SAID THAT THIS PERCEPTION HAD HURT HIS
PARTY AMONG LEFT-LEANING DOVISH ELEMENTS.
TOLEDANO STRESSED THAT DMC ACTIVISTS ARE A
HIGHLY IDEALISTIC GROUP--PROBABLY TO THE PINT
OF BEING NAIVE. HE THOUGHT THIS, HOWEVER, WOULD
EVENTUALLY BE THEIR STRENGTH. THEY WILL STICK

TO THEIR PRINCIPLES EVEN IF IT MEANT PAYING A POLITICAL PRICE. HE CITED HIS OWN CASE IN ILLUSTRATION. HE CLAIMED HE COULD HAVE BROUGHT 20-30,000 ARAB VOTERS WITH HIM INTO THE DMC FROM HIS FORMER POSITION IN THE GOVERNMENT, BUT AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE HE WAS BARRED BY THE DMC CAMPAIGN MANAGERS FROM CAMPAIGNING AMONG THE ARABS. ONLY WHEN OTHER DMC CANDIDATES ADMITTED FAILURE IN REACHING THE ARAB LEADERS WHO COULD DELIVER VOTES, DID THEY TURN TO TOLEDANO AND ASK HIM TO WORK AMONG THE ARABS. THAT WAS THREE WEEKS AGO AND TOLEDANO BELIEVES IT CAME TOO LATE--ALTHOUGH HE IS RECEIVING GOOD RESPONSES IN THE AREAS THAT HE CAN STILL COVER.

3. TOLEDANO NOTED THAT THE ALIGNMENT DOES NOT CAMPAIGN FOR ITSELF AMONG ARABS BUT INSTEAD DIRECTS ARAB VOTERS TO ITS AFFILIATE, THE UNITED ARAB LIST. HE CONSIDERS THIS A MISTAKE. THERE ARE NO LABOR PARTY CELLS AMONG THE ARABS. IF AN ARAB WANTS TO JOIN THE LABOR PARTY HE MUST ENROLL WITH A JEWISH BRANCH. HE THOUGHT THAT THE UNITED ARAB LIST WOULD RECEIVE ABOUT TWO SEATS AND RAKAH SEVEN. HE DISPUTED HANNOCH SMITH'S ANALYSIS THAT WOULD GIVE RAKAH FIVE SEATS, OR SIX AT MOST (TEL AVIV 3139). TOLEDANO SAID THAT THE NRP RECEIVED ABOUT 11,000 ARAB VOTES IN THE 1973 ELECTION--ENOUGH FOR NEARLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ONE SEAT. THIS WOULD GO DOWN TO 6,500 - 8,000 VOTES THIS TIME. IT WAS NOT ONLY THE KOENIG REPORT THAT EXPLAINS THIS LOSS; MORE IMPORTANT, ACCORDING TO TOLEDANO, WAS THE NRP ABSENCE FROM THE GOVERNMENT. THEY NO LONGER CONTROL THE KEY MINISTRIES (SO FAR AS THE ARABS ARE CONCERNED) OF INTERIOR AND RELIGION.

4. JACOBSON BELONGS TO A SMALL CIRCLE OF INTELLECTUALS THAT IS NOT PART OF ANY OF SHELLI'S FORU CONSTITUENT PARTIES (INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS, MOKED, HALOM HAZEH, AND ONE OF THE BLACK PANTEHER GROUPS) BUT WHO ARE MEMBERS OF SHELLI AT LARGE. HE SAID THAT SHELLI'S BASIC DIFFERENCE WITH THE DMC IS ONE OF PRIORITIES. SHELLI BELIEVES THAT ISRAEL'S OVERRIDING IMPERATIVE IS AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE ARABS. UNTIL THERE IS PEACE AND ACCEPTANCE, THERE CAN BE NO INTERNAL REFORM OR REAL ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN ISRAEL. ISRAEL

SHOULD DECLARE ITS READINESS TO WITHDRAW FROM THE
OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, EXCEPT FOR MINOR BORDER
ADJUSTMENTS AGREED TO BY BOTH SIDES. SHELLI
ADVOCATES SELF-DETERMINATION ON THE WEST BANK
AND WOULD ACCEPT A SEPARATE PALESTINIAN STATE.
HOWEVER, ALL EVACUATED TERRITORIES MUST BE
DEMILITARIZED WITH JOINT ARAB-ISRAELI SUPERVISION.
JACOBSON SAID THAT HIS CONCERN IS THAT ISRAEL
MUST REMAIN ESSENTIALLY JEWISH. HE HAD GRAVE
CONCERNS ABOUT THE EFFECTS ON ISRAEL OF CONTINUED
OCCUPATION OF AN UNWILLING PEOPLE. CONTINUED
OCCUPATION IS NOT REAL SECURITY NOR CAN IT
REALISTICALLY BE MAINTAINED INDEFINITELY.

5. JACOBSON BELIEVED THAT SHELLI IS HAVING
SOME SUCCESS AMONG TRADITIONAL MAPAM VOTERS.
SHELLI IS ALSO DEVOTING A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT
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OF ITS RESOURCES TO ARAB VOTERS WITH, SO
FAR, FAIR SUCCESS. JACOBSON THOUGHT SHELLI WOULD
WITH THREE OR FOUR SEATS--ANYTHING LESS WOULD BE
A DISAPPOINTMENT FOR HIM. HE WOULD REGARD
CAPTURING FIVE SEATS AS A SIGNIFICANT, AS WELL
AS SURPRISING, VICTORY.
DUNNIGAN

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Message Attributes

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Control Number: n/a
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Sent Date: 13-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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